2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

To give perspective in time and space to the Kazak material I have indicated the possible course of development of comparable social institutions among the Mongol tribes. In so doing I have relied chiefly on the work of Vladimirtsov.[7]

From the Kazak and Mongol material, supplemented by information from other groups, it has seemed permissable in conclusion to postulate certain general tendencies which appear to have been active in the formation of Turco-Mongol social structure. It must be emphasized, however, that the interpretations which I have ventured to make are to be considered only as a working hypothesis based on inadequate and incomplete material whose value must be tested by future investigations. More new problems have arisen than there have been solutions found to old ones.

Among those in America to whom special acknowledgements are due are my teachers, Dr. Edward Sapir and Dr. Leslie Spier, for aid and encouragement over many years. I am grateful to Professor George Vernadsky for numerous helpful suggestions. My obligations to friends in the Soviet Union are many. I am particularly indebted to the administrations of the Institute of Anthropology, Ethnography and Archaeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in Leningrad, and of the Kazakstan Base of the Academy of Sciences in Alma-ata. It would be presumptuous to thank Elizabeth E. Bacon who has shared the field work, research and writing.

Field work was considerably hampered by police regulation of the movement of foreigners in Kazakstan which restricted me to the town of Alma-ata and its immediate vicinity. Most of the information came from two informants: Umurzaq Kargabaiev and Nurqumandur Tlenshiev.[8] The former was a man 75 years of age living on the Kalinin Kolkhoz, a collective cattle farm about twenty kilometers from Alma-ata, which occupied part of the land formerly used by Kargabaiev's tribe of the Great Orda. He was well known in the Alma-ata district as a poet and musician and for his knowledge of Kazak traditions, genealogies and epics. He spoke only Kazak. Tlenshiev, 23 years old, came from a branch of the Little Orda in the southern Urals and was a student at the Pedagogical Institute in Alma-ata. His knowledge of Kazak culture was extensive but as regards the former social organization, mostly second-hand. He naturally evaluated old Kazak life in terms of the Marxist philosophy in which he had been educated so that his information must be weighed accordingly. He spoke Russian and acted as interpreter for me with Kargabaiev.[9] There were numerous other occasional informants, members of the Kalinin Kolkhoz and students of the Pedagogical Institute who took part in discussions as they happened to be present. In a somewhat different category was Professor S. J. Asfendiarov, president of the Kazakstan Base of the USSR Academy of Sciences and author of a history of Kazakstan. Although a

[7] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*.

[8] The second names are really patronymics used as family names with the Russian termination. Thus Tlenshiev's father was named Tlenshi.

[9] The fact that discussions had to be carried on in a language in which neither the interpreter nor the ethnographer was particularly proficient is regrettably but unavoidably reflected in the quality and quantity of some of the information.

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with the traditional origin of the uru as descended from a son of the progenitor of the parent uru in the next higher stratum. 582

The custom of avoidance and the prohibition on the wife's using the names of her husband and his relatives might be expected to aid in defining more clearly the actual exogamic unit but here the evidence is again contradictory. 531

The elaborate circumlocutions necessitated by the name prohibition have received more attention than the question of the group to which it is applied.[39] Il'minskiĭ, who apparently first reported the fact, states:[40]

A daughter-in-law may not call by name the relatives of the husband .... If someone from the husband's family is known by the name of some object, the daughter-in-law must apply to that object some other word composed of sounds that will be understood by all.

Grodekov[41] describes a similar prohibition as applying to " ... the husband's relatives and all his line as far as the extent of the gens into which marriage has taken place ...." Radlov[42] reports that the wife must not use the name of an object which is similar to the name " ... eines älteren Verwandten." Rudenko[43] says that a young woman going to live in the aul of her husband gives to " ... all the relatives of her husband, men, women and children ... " a new name by which she calls them. "If she is clever and observant such names are very descriptive of personal appearance or characteristics and soon are popularized. Thus every Kazak has two names: a real one and his nickname."

The most complete account of the name prohibition, and the only one which defines the limits of its application, is that of Samoĭlovich.[44] As mentioned above, his informant is described as belonging to the "Kipchak tribe, Toru-aingyr clan, Shashty sub-clan, Boshai branch and Zhanai sub-branch," and the group from which he might not take a wife was comprised of all those belonging to the Shashty "sub-clan." (Presumably there were other branches and sub-branches standing in the same relation to Shashty as did Boshai and Zhanai.) Within the limits of Shashty a wife might not call by name, either to his face or in his absence, her husband, nor males older than her husband, nor, likewise, the wives and children of those older than her husband. Instead she used the proper kinship term. However, this prohibition was somewhat circumvented by the use of conventionalized substitute names; for example, a woman might address a husband's kinsman named "Akhmet" as "Sakhmet" or one named "Ali" as "Sali." The name prohibition might in some cases apply to individuals in other groups who happened to bear the same name as the husband or his relatives. Such individuals the wife might address as "namesake of my husband" or "namesake of my father-in-law."

[39] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 480–81; Samoĭlovich, *Zapretnye Slova*, 162; Schuyler, *Turkistan*, 1: 40, Lowie, *Primitive Society*, 85.

[40] Il'minskiĭ, *Materialy k Izucheniiu Kirgizskogo Narechiia*, 191.

[41] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 100.

[42] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 480–81.

[43] *Ocherk Byta ... Kazakov*, 59, note 2.

[44] *Zapretnye Slova*, 162–63.

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551 This account agrees in details with my own information but is widely at variance on the fundamental point of the range of application of the prohibition. My informants stated emphatically that it applied only to a close group of husband's relatives; in practice, to the occupants of the ylken yj (father's house) and the several otav (junior houses) which would usually surround it, involving the husband's father, mother, unmarried sisters, brothers, brothers' wives and children. Such a group would usually consist of about fifteen or twenty people. Within it the wife might not use the name of any of the husband's male relatives nor those of his mother and sister. Nor might she address by name the wife of an elder brother of her husband although the wife of an elder brother might use the name of a younger brother's wife. Samoilovich's statement that a wife may not use the name of the children of the husband's elder male relatives may, according to my information, be somewhat extended to include the son of the husband's younger brother, provided this son were born before her marriage occurred. Samoilovich also mentions the prohibition on using the name of an elder brother's wife which would not hold true if the wives of the two brothers were sisters.[46]

Levshin, in a footnote,[46] says that the husband would never use his wife's name in speaking to another person. I do not know of any other reference to such an avoidance.

606. Actual personal avoidance seems to have existed only in a rather attenuated form. Radlov[47] says that the daughter-in-law must not look her husband's older relatives directly in the face and must always give precedence to them.[48] My informants said that it was perfectly correct for the father and daughter-in-law to see one another and converse together although she must of course "behave herself properly."

582. Information on the terminology of kinship which might be expected to throw light on the limits of the group within which marriage is prohibited is at present contradictory and incomplete. In general there seems to have been a great variation in the range of application of kinship terms denoting relatives among whom one might not marry.

A possible interpretation of the apparent conflict between generation and group exogamy may be reserved for later discussion.

SEXUAL IRREGULARITIES

836 Kazak views of sexual morality were on the whole quite rigid. Virginity was expected
585 of a bride and the lack of it usually entailed a relinquishment of at least a part of the kalym (bride price) by her father. Levshin[49] says that to the bridal tent

> . . . on attache un cheval couvert d'un harnais de parade et une robe. Le matin, si l'époux a trouvé sa femme chaste et innocente, il met la robe . . . s'élance sur le cheval et arrive triomphant chez

[45] Here again there is a conflict. Grodekov writes (*Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 28–29) that two brothers would never marry two sisters. Kargabaiev said this frequently occurred.

[46] *Description des hordes*, 356.

[47] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 480.

[48] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151.

[49] *Description des hordes*, 361–62.

844 good mullah is not called in who knows how to strike him (Martuny ura-
755 uratugun). Torgai transmits from the words of someone who knows
776 how to hit Martu, that Martu appears in the form of a little yellow girl (sary kyzday). Martu carries disease (yukbaly), and therefore young women do not come in to the woman in labor. In order to bring relief to the woman in labor it is necessary to expel the evil spirit. They shoot off guns for this and make noise outside the tent. (2)

2. Cf. Makovetskii, I. p. 62.

844 A woman never gives birth in the house of her mother, even under accidental circumstances, riding through, etc.

846 After the delivery the mother lies down for 3-4 days, eating fatty food, tea and other small and hot (issyk) food, but not cooling (suuk).

553 When a child is born, they slaughter an animal, and they give
551 the young men kids for kukbure. The old men are regaled and they give /99/ the name. When the children are dying one after another, then fate is propitiated in the following manner. They give the child some sort of humiliating name, connecting it with a notion of long life, for example, they give the name Kuchukbay, saying: Will he not remain among the living in the form of a whelp? (byr kuchukdey tiri bulub yurermeken). Names such as Kutebar, Bokkut, Maykut, Itakyak, Katpa (camel's sickness) are not rare. The names Tokhta (stop), Tursun (let him stop) must be foretokens of long life. They
751 run a silver ring through the nose cartilage of an only child of male or female sex, when the other children have died. Often the names originate from words which were spoken by chance by people who came in, for example, if someone said that the child was ugly or blond like a Russian, then its nickname would become Yamanbay, or Orusbay. On the occasion of a general's riding through, one child in the Chimkent uyezd received the name Dzhandaral. Many Kazakhs bear two names.

Examples of female names are Uriuk (apricot), Pistagul' (pistachio flower), Miizgul' (the flower of a plum), Al'magul' (apple blossom), Aiva (halva), Khuraz (rooster), Sarykyz (yellow girl), Tursungul' (stop!, or flower), Saltanat (kingdom). Batpa Zaura, i. e., Fatima and Zukhra are the names of girl twins. In the epics one finds the female names of Gul'khanys, Karlygash (swallow), Gul'barchin, Bayan, Dzhibek (silk).

700 After giving birth for the first time, the woman visits the home

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After giving birth for the first time, the woman visits the home of her father (turkundeydi), where she receives gifts, which are not obligatory however. If she does not visit him after the first birth, then she visits him after later ones, but only once altogether.

Circumcision takes place between the age of 1 and 12. It is 852 done by a mullah or a khodja. The circumcision is paid for according to the payer's means, but the payment is obligatory.(1)

1. Concerning upbringing among the Kazakhs, see the article by Ish-Mukhammed Bukin, "Fizicheskoe i umstvennoe vospitanie u Kiegizov" /The physical and mental upbringing among the Kazakhs/, Turkestanskie Vedomosti, 1883, No. 17.

At the celebration of the circumcision (bala kistermek) the rich people slaughter /100/ sheep and arrange a race for which they give kukbure.(1) The celebration lasts three days. Both invited

1. Here kukbure is used in the sense of the kid itself.

and uninvited guests appear at it, and both are required to bring sheep, money and things with them.

A good wife, even when she is a bride, should not call her 571 husband's relatives (kain) by name, out of decency, nor the entire 561 lineage up to that circle of kinship within which marriages are permitted. She must call them by their appellative names, for example, father-in-law (ata), master (mirza), etc. A less modest woman calls them by their names, but only when alone with them. It is also indecorous, although not so reprehensible, to mention the names of the husband's relatives in talking. There is an anecdote (according to Torgai and also in Budagov) according to which an elder wished to test the inventiveness of the women in descriptive expressions and gave his sons the names of the most commonplace objects: Rushes, Water, Wolf, Sheep, Knife, Grindstone. Once a wolf stole a sheep between the water and the rushes, and the bride cried: "Bride's father! Bride's father! Beside the babbling, in front of the stakes supporting the plants, the howler is eating the bleater. Bring that with which there is tinder around the point" (ata! ata! saldyramanyng aryyagynda, sildiramanyng bere yagynda mangramany uul' ma eb yatyr yanymany bilemege bileb bileb alyb kele koyyngyz).

The custom described exists among all Kazakhs and has not completely disappeared still among the Challa Kazakhs, i.e., the

551 semi-Kazakhs, the sedentary Kazakhs who have become Sartizized.

Incidentally, let us recall here the opinion, heard among Russians that among the Kazakhs there exists a prejudice against giving the name of the wife, when asked for it, as well as against 784 naming the exact number of heads of their livestock. The veracity of this is disputed by Khudaikul, who adds, however, that the sharp tone of the question and the persistent demand can cause evasiveness (kulyk). On this matter E. A. Aleksandrov reports from Kazalinsk: " Not only the rich but in general /Inserted page. Picture. Caption: Bii Sultan Kanaev of the Chimkent uyezd. Drawing by Akhmatov/1 /101/ the Kazakhs do not say the number of their livestock, for fear of attracting the wrath of the gods. It is not even acceptable to say the number of one's children, for the same reason. "

/102/CHAPTER VII.

The use of land and water. - Nomadizing. - Hospitality. - Common property. - Assistance.

423 Before the Russian dominion, land was not considered personal property. It belonged to a person only as long as he was on it, or 428 cultivated it. To this day in the northern uyezds land is not transferred by inheritance. The son who receives his allotment in the Auliye-Ata uyezd does not receive a share of the land, of which there still is much in the uyezd. The land remains to the unalloted sons. In the southern uyezds tilled land and land sectors of all sorts are transferred by inheritance.

423 In the Perovsk uyezd, summer camps, winter camps, the grounds appended to them, etc., are more and more associated to certain communes and divided among them. The canals, with the land irrigated by them, belong to those who operate them and their heirs.

Among the Kirgiz only those sectors are sold on which there are trees and buildings. They abandon ploughed fields when they depart. These become the property of the person who occupies them.

Summer camps and winter camps are occupied by the Kazakhs by rights of hereditary use. The construction of canals, farm houses, buildings and gardens transforms the land into private property. Shares of lands do not exist. The winter camps are primarily in places where saxaul, shrubs or rushes grow. The summer camps are in cooler places, i. e., further north or in the mountains.

Land use, by this system, is not distributed equally and is found

1/2 [Not reproduced --A]